

613 Previous research such as that of Rimoldi (1966) has shown clearly enough that the Orokaiva patrilineage is not *in practice* an enduring corporate group. The model I am proposing here goes further: it states a rule according to which
 [428] patrimonies are fragmented and the fragments constituted into new units. It follows from this rule that neither lineage membership nor the principle of patrification (cf. Barnes 1962, 1967) suffices to account for the inheritance of landed estates.

596 The basic condition for inheritance is that there should be a continuing filial
 428 or quasi-filial relation, usually based on co-residence and filial services, thus inducing the *enda mama* to make an appropriate response and continue the protection of the real or fictive junior, as symbolised by the transfer of land, often in gradual steps during the *enda mama*'s lifetime.

Having shown that patrification is not a sufficient condition for land inheritance, we shall proceed in the next section to show that it is also not a necessary condition. This argument will be followed by an exposition of an alternative model based on the principle of exchange.

5. Transfers of Land outside the Corporate Group

423 The land transfers so far discussed were conducted between agnates and largely
 425 prescribed by rules of inheritance. We have seen that there is some freedom of
 [428] disposition, as the father is not obliged to transmit more than half of his land to his sons. His freedom is even greater if he has no resident sons or brothers. Even a man with many sons and brothers, and with only limited land holdings, is not prevented from making occasional land transfers, though these are more likely to be on only a temporary basis.

423 The extent of known transfers outside the rules of patrilineal succession has
 425 been recorded for the villages of Sivepe and Inonda. In Sivepe more than half of
 613 104 parcels of land belonging to the Jegase clan have been so transferred
 614 (Rimoldi 1966:59) whereas only 15 out of 34 gardens investigated were planted by primary members of the right-holding lineage (*ibid.*: 70). In Inonda, the proportion was 20 out of 55 (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:34). Recipients were sometimes members of the same clan but of a different lineage: sometimes they were members of another clan. The whole of the land now occupied by the Andirha clan of Inonda was donated by the Tandai'undi of Seva in 1915, when they were affines.

423 Most of these transfers were made to sisters and daughters of the *enda mama*
 425 and, by implication, to the men who had married these women. They were most
 583 commonly full sisters and full daughters, but there are many cases involving classificatory and adoptive relationships. The making of such gifts depends partly on inclination; a man who greatly dislikes his son-in-law will not settle land on him. If the daughter marries outside a radius of about three miles from the home village, she usually receives no land. Many women who marry in a
 [573] neighbouring village receive land close to the boundary. The popular explanation of such gifts is the deep love between a man and his sister (or his daughter).

● [582] There is, however, another consideration which may have encouraged these transfers: the Orokaiva practised preferential patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, so that a village which allowed a woman to cultivate land, while married in an

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adjoining village, might receive land at a later date when that woman's daughter married, according to the rule, in her mother's home village. This kind of pattern is described by Hogbin (1967:24) for the Wogeo, who operate a system of land dowries in conjunction with second-degree patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. 423 425 583 582

Often land is granted, on a temporary or even life-long basis, to persons other than sisters or daughters. Land transfers may arise in a variety of social relationships which cannot be easily categorised. In Inondā, where the village domain is rather large, land is often lent by one lineage to another so that cultivation areas can be close together or contiguous. This is done because people like to work at not too great a distance from one another. In Sivepe, some land loans were made from a similar motive, mostly for rubber gardens. When migrants from Garombi² settled in Sivepe, several grants of land were made to them, both for taro and yam gardens. Such arrangements do not usually extend beyond the life time of the recipient although I do know of exceptions. If the gift endures, it signifies a close and permanent bond between families who may be unrelated by kinship. 423 425 [613] [166] [571]

From the viewpoint I have adopted in this work, two questions are of special interest in the analysis of land transfers: what social benefits are being exchanged between the partners; and what are the symbolic motives for using land as an object of mediation in these relationships? In order to approach these questions, I shall first cite some situations in which land transfers are of practical use and common occurrence: 121

1. Land transfers from wife's father to daughter's husband used to be very common, especially in the early years of marriage. A man was expected to help his wife's father with gardening and other tasks, and to stay with him for a year or so. During this period, the father-in-law gave the couple a garden for their own use. On occasion, this might be a garden to which the daughter had been granted a permanent usehold. This type of bride-service is very much on the decline today, as the payment of a substantial bridewealth in money acts as a substitute. I encountered the custom once or twice and found that the son-in-law regarded himself as the father-in-law's 'worker' or servant. We may therefore regard this type of land transfer as offering to the donor the satisfaction of seeing the receiver reduced in social status. 423 583 425 [558]

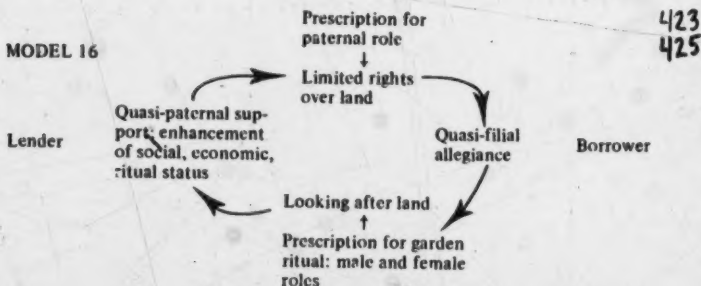
2. In the other types of cases I shall mention, transfers of land do not place recipients in a position of social inferiority. Certainly, in many cases harvest gifts are expected from the borrowers of land but these tend to be small in size and to lack any implications of status difference. For instance, many transfers are made by widowers. These men have a choice between attaching themselves to the family of a son, a daughter or a sister's son. In Sivepe, I found that each of these choices was made twice in a total of six cases with which I am familiar. In all the cases where an old man attached himself to a daughter or sister's son, he made transfers of land to those who looked after him. The choice he makes is prompted primarily by mutual affection but nonetheless his position is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that he has some tangible way of showing his gratitude, namely in the form of land. If he is unhappy with one relative and moves to another, some part of his inheritance will probably move with him. 423 431 736

3. Cripples and widows are often in a similar position. They may need a

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MODEL 16



6. Case Study of Uterine Land Inheritance

If a person resides at too great a distance to make gardens on his land, he commonly passes it on to a suitable kinsman to be 'looked after', which means the establishment of gardens on it at regular intervals and the performance of religious rites. After a decent interval (perhaps twenty years), the caretakers will begin to press for a permanent arrangement: does the owner intend to return or will he pass over his land permanently to a resident? It is possible to stall on such a decision for a long time, but even if the owner's rights have the strongest basis, viz. patrilineal inheritance, they gradually become more tenuous and the man who looks after the land increasingly becomes the real master. Theoretically, however, the right to patrimony land is never extinguished. At the same time, a land gift to a sister or daughter is often made on the basis that when the land passes to her male heir he will be able to keep it permanently for his descendants. The formal rules on this point are flagrantly contradictory. If we wish to understand the principles behind uterine land inheritance, our most useful course will be to consider how the system operates in a concrete case. [428] [431]

The data I shall discuss here were reported in Crocombe's and Hogbin's study of Inonda (1963) and supplemented in a brief study by myself. A leading man from Tandai'undi clan (Seva village) gave most of the present Inonda domain to a leading man of Andiriha clan. The Andiriha made various gifts at that time (1915) and also gave Tandai'undi two women in marriage. In the following generation Tandai'undi, according to the custom (of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage), gave two women in exchange to Andiriha, or to be precise, to the son of the donor of the original two women. It was then promised that the son of the elder of these two women would assume control and be permitted to pass on this land to his heirs. [614] [423] [425] [583] [582]

In the 1950s several incidents occurred which emphasised the limitations of the rights of Andiriha. When some Tandai'undi were dismissed from a construction job (by a European overseer), they went to Inonda village where the foreman, an Andiriha, lived. They reminded the foreman that Inonda was 'their' land and that if he wanted to remain on it he had better get them their jobs back (Crocombe and Hogbin (1963: 72). As I have pointed out, a land borrower always has a duty to protect the interests of the lender and this

773 But this handsome young man, also, is pierced by the girl's breasts and killed.
824 The brother buries his brother-in-law, then kills his sister and buries her beside
539 the other grave.

After a mourning period the brother takes his wife to the two graves. They find a cocopalms in full bearing above the sister's grave. An *areca* palm has grown over the grave of the young man. Heaps of dry nuts are lying on the ground. That is how these two palms originated. He says:

Wife, as we come close, we see coconut and *areca* growing where only grass grew before. Dry coconuts have fallen and are rotting away; dry *areca* nuts are growing shoots. It can be seen from my sister's grave that she was a creature of misfortune (*embavo*) and that the bachelors' deaths were her doing.

The coconuts growing in the grave must stay there and the *areca* growing on *dambo*'s grave must likewise stay. See to it.

The hero opens a dry coconut, then a budding coconut. Though he declares that he will die if he eats these nuts, his wife desires them, they are so delicious. He feeds them to the dog, expecting it to die, but it does not. He then declares:

Wife, cocopalms are growing in my sister's grave, but the flower clusters on the stem have pointed sheaths (*peperuma*) which puncture the skin and make men die. It is always said that people die when that happens. The mass of sheaths will strike men with the sleep of death; when the sheaths have struck, men will die utterly. That was the cause of the girl's death. When I came here and saw coconut growing out of her grave and dry nuts fallen on the ground, I began to understand that my sister had killed the men I had carried to their graves and buried. . . .

When a man has collected *areca*, he gives it back to a girl. When that girl has helped to fetch coconut, she in turn gives it to the man. It therefore belongs to the man. This being so, the coconut is a man but the *areca* is a girl; for this reason, girls give *areca*.

773 On the level of social structure, this myth is concerned with the Orokaiva
824 institution of sister exchange marriage. Though such arrangements were not very
539 frequent among the Orokaiva (I would estimate about 5 per cent of all
582 marriages), sister exchange marriages are strongly idealised, as I have shown
elsewhere. In this myth, a man arranges such an exchange marriage for his sister
because he evidently believes it provides more protection against magical dangers
than any other. When this ends in disaster, the brother feels entitled to assume
there is no bachelor with whom his sister can sleep safely, as he explains in a
passage not quoted here. He therefore kills her, but right through the story his
dambo (wife's brother) continues to be regarded as husband of his sister. It is for
him, rather than for any other man she has slept with and killed, that she grows
coconuts. In fact it is the bond of love between the dead couple which gives the
whole tale its meaning. The closeness of this bond is not explained
psychologically by personal sentiments existing between the lovers, but
structurally, by sister exchange marriage.

773 On the level of social exchange, the myth depends largely on rather complex
824 and condensed ideological statements made by the hero. I have translated the
539

Coconut and Betelnut

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principally referring to classificatory systems built up from such metaphoric oppositions. When I use the term 'metaphoric gift', I mean a gift about which we are told in a story, the message of the story being that gift and recipient are metaphorically identical. The point of the story is to establish the symbiosis of men and women, the use of the metaphor. An example of such a story would be the gift of sacred emblems to the infant Dionysus in Orphic myth. This story tells us how Dionysus received certain gifts (cone, bullroarer, golden apples, mirror, knuckle-bone, tuft of wool) which defined his nature. In the same way, in Orokaiva myth, men are given a coconut nature and women an areca nature.

Orokaiva informants offer what they regard as empirical evidence for this. Coconut may be recognised as a man because the palm germinates slowly and the fruit comes to maturity slowly ('it comes slowly'). Likewise, so I was told, the male is slow to be sexually aroused and to desire women. *Areca* may be recognised as a girl because it germinates and comes to maturity quickly – the fruit matures faster than the coconut. Likewise woman is quick to be sexually aroused and to feel desire for a man. In this analogy the botanical facts are evident but the psychological generalisations describe no more, perhaps, than Orokaiva role expectations.

We may clarify the myth and its philosophical message to a certain extent by an analysis on the level of exchange cycles. The fundamental cycle is obviously the following:

MODEL 29



This is the model of sister exchange marriage where two men become brothers-in-law by each giving their sisters (*du*) to the other in marriage. If we now remember the identification between woman and betelnut (*sā*), and the social relationship which is considered normal between *dambo*, we may substitute as follows:

MODEL 30



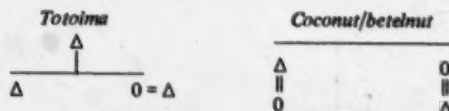
We thus derive the rather interesting conclusion that the sense of an exchange of betelnut between men is that they are symbolically exchanging sisters. This is a rather bold conclusion which is best left as a speculation to be explored in later

773 enquiries. The same applies to a second conclusion that may be derived from the
824 myth: that a man who gives a visitor coconut to drink is symbolically giving his
539 own sexuality.

582 6. Analysis of the Myth⁴

539 As these implications of the model may arouse scepticism, a more analytical
773 study of the myth seems desirable. One procedure which may lead to
clarification is to compare the coconut/betelnut myth with the myth of Totoima
discussed in previous chapters. The structural homology between the two myths
is obvious enough. In the Totoima myth a *man wittingly* killed and *ate a son*, was
transformed into *pig meat*, and distributed to mankind. He *did not intend* to
make any gifts nor were any intended for him. In the coconut myth a *woman*
unwittingly killed but *did not eat a spouse*, was transformed into *coconut*,
distributed to mankind. She *intended* to make a gift and a return gift was
intended for her.

We may isolate three distinctive features. On the ecological level we find an
opposition between two types of symbiosis. The Totoima myth shows a
predatory cycle: pig eats taro; man eats pig; thus strengthened, man causes more
taro to grow. The coconut/betelnut myth shows the association of two plants
always growing together, such that the presence of the one may be thought to
stimulate the growth of the other. On the social level we find an opposition
between the kin relationships holding between the principal participants. They
may be represented as follows:



In the Totoima myth, the critical transaction was between the senior and
junior generation, while in the coconut/betelnut myth it was between the male
and female characters. Psychologically, the opposition was that in the Totoima
myth the protagonists were motivated to kill and eat each other, while in the
coconut/betelnut myth they were motivated by sexual love.

Both myths are concerned with exchange, viewed ecologically, socially and
psychologically, but in the first myth exchange is diachronic, whereas in the
second it is contemporaneous. Where exchange is diachronic, B cannot reach the
fullness of prosperity without the death of A, a process symbolised ecologically
by predation, on the social level by intergenerational competition and on the
psychological level by the desire to kill the father. Where exchange is
contemporaneous, B cannot reach the fullness of prosperity without the
simultaneous prosperity of A, a process symbolised ecologically by plant
associations, socially by the marriage relationship and psychologically by
conjugal love.

Diachronic exchange is, on the ecological level, a familiar and empirically
verifiable fact. On the social level, however, the competitive and negative aspect

Ornaments

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list which I had collected some time previously, namely the villages to which a person would go if he needed the services of a black magician, in other words, if he wished to apply *saruka* against a fellow villager who had injured him. When I pointed out this coincidence to informants they agreed that indeed they were always the same villages, but insisted there was no connection between *aguma* and *saruka embo*.

It is, however, the task of the anthropologist to explore such coincidences even if informants dismiss them as totally insignificant. In this exploration I was assisted by further facts, not noted by Williams, about the social exchange between the initiate and the *aguma*. Before the latter recites his war deeds, he will hand his limepot to the initiate. He then says something like: 'You are holding my limepot. Therefore promise not to beat your wife.' There are a good number of such vows the initiate must take. They no doubt vary a good deal from place to place, but generally cover a wide range of rules of social exchange, of the same type as are listed by Williams and by Chinnery and Beaver (1915: 76). Later, when the *aguma* offers the *otohu*, he does so on condition that the initiate keeps his vows. Persons who violate some rule of social behaviour are likely to be warned by fellow-villagers in terms such as: 'You had better be careful - you held the limepot.'

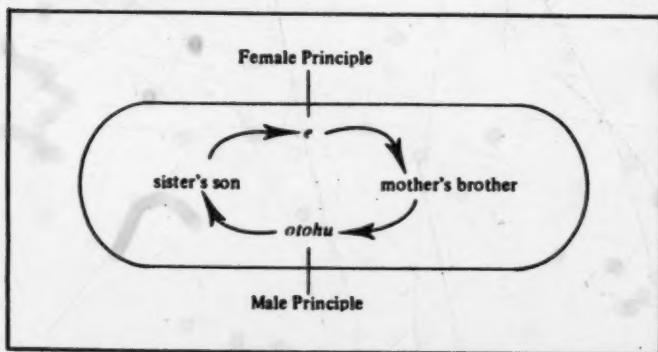
We thus find that *aguma* and sorcerer have something more in common than their provenance from the same set of villages. They are concerned with two interrelated aspects of social control: the *aguma* obtains certain pledges from a person and the sorcerer punishes that person if he breaks his pledges. It is significant that these guardians of moral values live in places which are on the fringe of the universe of friendly social relations maintained by any village. One may visualise this universe in widening concentric circles moving from friendly villages, to sorcery villages, to usually hostile villages. While the usually hostile villages tended to yield an occasional marriage partner obtained through abduction, the sorcery villages represent the outer limit of the area from which a person would ordinarily obtain wives, and therefore affinal and uterine kin.

It has often been remarked that guardians of moral values tend to be situated on the fringe of the social universe (e.g. see Gluckman 1965: 100-1). In view of what we already know of Orokaiva social relations (see model 20) we would expect that the initiate would normally have no direct significant social relations with his *aguma*. Usually his relations, if any, would be through one or more intermediaries. In the absence of such intermediaries, the initiate would see no reason why he should believe the *aguma*'s recital of his war deeds nor his claims to greatness and why he should honour pledges made to a stranger. Williams shows that rude questioning of the *aguma*'s authority, by young men in a position analogous to that of the initiate, was a regular part of the ritual (1930: 190). There is, however, a counterpart to these challenges which appears less clearly from Williams' account. I was told it was not enough for the *aguma* to protest his own war deeds; there must also be other war leaders present who will affirm that the *aguma* is speaking the truth. One gathers from Williams' account that there were two of these at the ceremony he attended (p. 189-90). He quotes one *aguma* as saying that these two intermediaries 'remembered his exploits better than he did himself'. The *agums* then pretended to use these men as prompters. Whatever the two intermediaries were called upon to say or do,

A [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]

As an example of the operation of this model, we may summarise the discussion concerning the sacred flutes and the *otohu*. On the mythical level there is a binary opposition between a male and a female principle. On the social level there is a relation between mother's brother and sister's son, which is mediated (a) by the mother; (b) by the gift of an *otohu*. On the technological level, there is opposition between a male and female initiation flute (respectively *otohu* and *e* = mother). These complex interrelations are shown with great economy in the following diagram:

MODEL 34



The objects of mediation under discussion in the preceding chapters have been mostly material objects, but the model is by no means confined to these. It is equally applicable to social objects of mediation. Indeed, in model 34, the word *e* appears in a double sense: as one of the two initiatory flutes, i.e. a material object, but simultaneously as 'mother', a social object. In the taro sociogram, we introduced a series of human mediators between a set of distant but equal exchange partners (model 20). In discussing the *aguma*, we found the same pattern between a set of distant but unequal exchange partners (model 31). Similarly, we may regard the mother's brother as mediator between initiand and the spirit world.

Some of the most important social exchanges are those which are mediated by a woman who is a sister of one of the partners and the wife of the other. We have already looked briefly at this type of exchange when discussing the coconut and betelnut myth (model 29). In thus equating woman with an 'object of mediation' we are not thereby postulating any essential inequality between men and women except in as far as the Orokaiva happen to be patrilineal and patrilocal, so that it is the women, not the men, whose sexual role places them in a position of mediation. We are merely suggesting that two persons standing in a relation of *dambo* mediate their social relationship through a woman with which each, in a different way, is identified, one sexually and the other non-sexually. The asymmetry is balanced out by a counter-prestation on the part

A [See p. 182, Cat. 881--Analyst]

B [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]

C [See p. 171, Cat. 824--Analyst]

- 431 of the husband' who either gives a woman in exchange (direct marriage
121 exchange) or else makes some kind of reparation for having deprived his
567 exchange partner (generalised marriage exchange).

● 582

REFERENCES

- 824 1. Erikson, describing 'the beginnings of identity' in the adolescent, comes
571 rather close to what I have in mind in this chapter: 'The emerging identity
bridges the stages of childhood when the bodily self and the parental images are
given their cultural connotation: and it bridges the stage of young adulthood,
when a variety of social roles become available and, in fact, increasingly
coercive.' (1963: 235).
- 881 2. A person who receives a token is referred to in this chapter as an
'initiate', as Williams makes it very clear the the bestowal of the token is not a
necessary part of initiation, and comes after the ceremony which makes an
'inistion' into an 'initiate'.
- 000 3. I am using Beaver's spelling, as Beaver (1920) is the source for Williams'
and my own information about *kortopo*, but Williams spells the word *kotopo*.

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TABLE X/I
VILLAGE POPULATIONS AND CLAN ORGANISATION
Number of villages investigated: 15

Name	Population				
(a) One-Clan Villages:					
Ajoro	50	Tandai'undi			
Inonda	42	Andiriha			
Irihambo	30	Oripa			
Sombou	70	Pangaripa			
Kakita	24	Hatopa			
(b) Two-Clan Villages:					
Binduta	100	Jegase	Usohu		
Garombi	132	Sorovi	Betu		
Hamburata	91	Ehirari	Ohuru		
Kongohambo	96	Pugege	Ameti		
Sivepe	137	Jegase	Seho		
Torogota	65	Jeipa	Jaumbi		
(c) Four-Clan Villages					
		ve/ih	ih/av	av/so	so/ve ¹
Hohorita	348	Oripa	Besupa	Sehopa	Horeppa
Sasembata	162	Garoha	Pekuma	Ato	Takone ²
Soroputa	200	Seraopa	Jaja	Java	Timumu
(d) Multi-Clan Villages					
Kiorota	429				12 clans ³

Notes

¹ ve/ih etc. are made up of abridgements of the Orokaiva terms *veari*, *ihane*, *avunu*, *sose*. for which see Chapter X, 5.

² No marriages between Seraopa and Jaja are permissible today, but both clans marry preferentially into the Hamburata clans.

³ This village was settled in 1958 by refugees from the Mount Lamington eruption who previously occupied a number of smaller villages, according to the following pattern:

Homumuta	1	Haripa	2	Penonupa	
Isivita	3	Jegase	4	Berekipa	
Bosisepa	3	Jegase	4	Berekipa	11 Seraopa
Tambore	5	Oetopa	6	Ahungata	
Taremuturu	5	Oetopa	7	Pusaripa	
Pinda	8	Isivupa	9	Juvaripa	
Kandata	10	Jepuripa			
?	12	Omborapa			

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[582]

[166]

614 Similarly, the fact that these groupings together call themselves a clan (*javo wakai*) does not imply the actual existence of agnatic connection. The term means 'one name', and that is all they share, except for uterine links which buttress the social relations between them. The clan name is important as a symbol of political identification. The close bonds between the clan segments are evident in residence patterns, in daily intercourse and mutual assistance in practical matters, though not in ritual or other formal organisation.

614 The second principle of grouping is the plant emblem (*hae*), already
824 recognised by Williams (1925, 1930) as important in the Orokaiva social system. Williams describes it as 'a distinctive emblem or associate' of a clan, though he recognised it could belong merely to a segment of a clan. Most of them are vegetable species, though almost any natural or cultural object may be designated as *hae*. Williams lists three main uses: as an identity token (to mark a visit by the owner), as a mark of individual abstinence (a self-inflicted taboo, usually shown to indicate a grievance) and as a village taboo post (prohibiting access). The *hae* is regarded as an ancestor, which does not signify, as Williams
(773) carefully pointed out, that men believe themselves to be physically descendants
(553) of plants, but that the ancestor was a man bearing the name of that plant. Clan and personal names are commonly plant names and often the *hae* of a clan and its name are identical. On the question whether the *hae* is a totem, he remarked that, whatever we call it, 'it will be obvious that it is very much like one.' He noted some forms of religious respect toward *hae*, notably eating and naming taboos.

614 To this information we may add that in our experience the term *hae* is
824 frequently used to describe a social group made up of persons sharing a *hae*, and that the group to which it is applied is not the clan (*javo wakai*) but a smaller formation often about the same size as a 'clan segment' or 'lineage'. As such, they are probably the basic larger unit of Orokaiva social structure.

Every individual respects a number of paternal and a number of maternal *hae*. Theoretically, a person passes on his father's but not his mother's *hae* to the next generation so that the *hae* would form an agnatic group. Most individuals have about five *hae* in regular use. I recorded forty-two *hae* names in a population of 135.

There would normally be one *hae* common to a *javo wakai*. Less wide-ranging and more distinctive *hae* would often be of more social importance. Those who
[582] were related to the same distinctive *hae* would co-operate in marriage and mortuary payments and maintain a strict exogamy rule. Though they claimed
[611] their group to be composed wholly of agnates and children of agnates, there were in fact several cases of uterine transmission for more than one generation, especially where marriages were uxorilocal. Some *hae* became unusually popular, like *topu*, a tree name which became a *hae* after a Sivepe woman died by falling off a *topu* tree. She was given the necronym *Topugoru*, after which all her lineal descendants adopted *topu* as a *hae*. In other instances again, persons sharing the same *hae* were quite plainly unrelated in a physical sense. In fact the membership of none of the eleven most numerous plant emblem groups was drawn from a single clan segment or even a single local clan group.

It follows that the social group called *hae* never has a membership identical with that of a lineage, if we use that term in the sense of Crocombe, Hogbin or

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Rimoldi. I witnessed marriage and mortuary payments where an entire *hae* 614 (including non-consanguines) were present, but where clansmen of different *hae* 824 had no business to be present.

Orokaiva genealogies hardly ever extended further than two generations beyond the oldest living member of a family. Thus, I was able to draw up a sizeable list of people who lived in Sivepe and other villages around 1915, but could get no genealogical information showing how these people were related to one another. However, informants were able to tell me the *hae* of these ancestors, and these *hae* proved to be the only evidence for statements that A and B 'must have been closely related' or 'cannot have been closely related'. In contrast to the clan and clan segment (which I shall later show to be military and political units — whole or fragmentary), the plant emblem group alone has the nature of a true kinship group. Therefore we should not be surprised that the *hae* occurs prominently in the Orokaiva marriage rules with regard to incest and exogamy.

3. *Williams' Theory of Orokaiva Marriage*

Being a most careful ethnographer, Williams frankly admitted he was unable to understand the Orokaiva rules of exogamy. He quotes three conflicting sets of rules, given to him by informants, and was unable to discern any clear system. According to some informants the clan was the exogamous group. According to others, marriage within the clan was sometimes permissible, but marriage was prohibited between persons sharing a plant emblem. A third rule quoted to Williams was that marriage was prohibited between *du* (i.e. real and classificatory siblings) but permitted and common between cross-cousins. One task of the present essay is to resolve these contradictions. [121]

Williams, furthermore, confessed himself unable to find any positive marriage regulations, i.e. 'any prescribed classes into which a man is obliged to marry' (1930:132). Here he was being too modest: in a subsequent discussion of 'the four forms of marriage' of the Orokaiva, he actually provided the key to the system, though he was unable to carry its analysis as far as he managed to do in some of his later ethnographies, such as those of the Koiari and the *Papuan*s of the *Trans-Fly*. 582 583

The 'four forms' were: purchase, exchange, elopement, and capture. Marriage by capture used to be very frequent and a regular aftermath of cannibal raids. Williams reports that, under this form of marriage, relations between affines often remained hostile — which is not surprising. In many cases the hostile groups later established peace or at least a truce. One feature of such a truce used to be the payment of bridewealth for captured women. The truce was often negotiated at least partly through the influence of the captive. Though Williams has little information on the compensation paid one gathers that the usual pattern of Orokaiva bridewealth payments was followed: pigs, valuables, bark-cloth, pots, taro, etc. My own data confirm that it was not uncommon for ordinary affinal relations to be established once the captors had paid bridewealth. Children of the marriage would then set up the customary relationship with their mother's brother and even receive permanent rights in hunting lands and the like. 583 602 578

Elopement marriage likewise used to be very frequent. Williams reports that it

583 led to serious quarrels, especially if the girl had been kept by her parents or
 602 brother for an exchange marriage. Usually, these quarrels were settled in due
 578 course upon payment of a suitable bridewealth and sometimes by a subsequent
 marriage for which the abductor's family provided the bride. Williams
 comments:

The remarkable gestures of hostility against the husband's people which sometimes characterise Orokaiva marriage, i.e. the attempted dragging away of the bride by her people, the humiliation of the bridegroom, the damaging of his village and the bellicose demonstrations at the taking over of the *dorobu* (= bridewealth), all properly belong to the irregular methods of capture and elopement; they are the aftermath, the retaliation (1930: 149).

583 The third and fourth marriage forms distinguished by Williams are purchase
 584 (i.e. obtaining a wife in exchange for *dorobu*) and exchange *nine*, i.e. an arrangement whereby two men each make a true or classificatory sister available to the other). It seems that Williams did not differentiate clearly between modes of obtaining a wife and modes of making a valid marriage contract. One might obtain a wife in a number of ways. Certainly, capture and abduction seem to have been the most frequent at one time, but there were also child betrothals; long-standing preferential arrangements between villages; romances leading to sister exchange and marriages to seal political alliances. There was the whole gamut between choices made by lovers without parental approval and choices (probably relatively less frequent) made by parental fiat. But there were only two ways of making a valid marriage contract, namely *dorobu* and *mine*. Williams himself comes very close to this view towards the end of his chapter on 'Marriage' (1930: Ch. IX). He also maintains, no doubt correctly, that in Orokaiva thought *mine* appears as the 'ideal', i.e. preferential, mode of contracting a marriage:

It appears that marriage by exchange is preferable to marriage by purchase — at least in the eyes of the marriageable man, and probably also in the eyes of his elders who sympathise with his desires. We may perhaps go so far as to say that the actual buying of a wife only takes place when circumstances make present or future exchange impossible (1930: 149).

This seems to place Williams' theory firmly on the side of Guiart's theory of marriage in New Caledonia: exchange marriage becomes the preferential mode, the 'model', whereas marriage 'by purchase' is demoted to the status of an ecologically caused departure from the 'model'. In this chapter I shall argue that Williams' Orokaiva theory reifies the folk model and conceals some of the complexity of Orokaiva social structure.

4. Elements of Restricted Exchange

582 Marriage rules related to the principle of restricted exchange are actually more
 583 numerous than Williams supposed. They must be briefly reviewed before we can argue cogently that the principle of restricted exchange does not suffice to account for the rules governing the total Orokaiva marriage system. Williams was entirely right in supposing that the Orokaiva have preferential sister exchange

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marriage, even though actual cases recorded in the three village investigated are only 5 per cent of the total for true siblings and the proportion is declining. Sister exchange marriages were considered best because relations between affines were apt to be the most harmonious and also because no bride price was necessary. As any trouble that occurs in family life is apt to be ascribed to sorcery by affines, it was thought that families founded on sister exchange marriage would be the most likely to prosper in respect of health, stability and economic success.

Furthermore, there is an explicit rule of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage. All informants were agreed that the most proper marriage partner is one who is addressed as *simbo* before marriage; Williams defines *simbo* as 'child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins' (1930: 109). Out of twenty-two married couples resident in Sivepe, fourteen actually called each other *simbo* before marriage. Williams notes that *simbo* marriages were extremely common in the communities he studies (1930:132), but does not seem to have been told of the preferential rule.

The existence of such a rule can be inferred not only from direct statements, but also from investigation of the primary meaning of the term *simbo* itself. The primary meaning is not cross-cousin and we shall later see that the two terms do not entirely share the same field of reference. *Simbo* is an arrangement of marriage. A *simbo* may be established when a boy's parents bring part of a bridewealth to the parents of a girl they want their son to marry. If the arrangement is acceptable, the parents help in the garden of their son's future affines and continue to send food. Such an arrangement is usually made immediately after the rituals following the girl's first menstruation. If the *simbo* is broken, the girl's parents must pay back the gifts. In a secondary sense, the word *simbo* also refers to that category of consanguines with which betrothals of the kind just described can be properly made. All members of that category are either cross-cousins in the strict sense, or consanguines with whom kinship can be traced neither wholly in the patriline, nor wholly in the matriline.

There are also rules establishing preferential marriage between specific villages. Though Williams did not notice the presence of this rule among the Orokaiva, he described a very similar rule obtaining among the Koiari, where he spoke of 'reciprocating pairs of groups' (1932). Under this arrangement, two local clan groups or exogamous lineages give wives to each other from generation to generation, each side supplying as near as possible an equal number. A group that has received a wife is expected to send one back in the same or the next generation. If the return prestation occurs in the same generation one may speak of sister exchange; if it occurs in the next generation, the rule is expressed by the Orokaiva as *eta data jimbari*, i.e. marrying in the mother's village.

This rule applies especially to girls who are expecting to go to the village from which their mother has been taken, thus balancing accounts between reciprocating pairs of groups. Such a rule cannot properly be described as a prescription for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, as there is at the same time a preference for sister exchange, so that the total pattern of marriages between reciprocating pairs of groups is ideally (and in fact commonly) bilateral. I found that 35 per cent of Orokaiva marriages now in force were contracted in accordance with the rule of *eta data jimbari*, for a period not less than two generations.

583 Forms of dual organisation between pairs of reciprocating groups have always
 528 been of limited scope as the groups tended to reside apart from each other, and
 616 each group tended to have marriage exchange relations with several other groups
 at the same time. Even the short genealogies of Sivepe show evidence that the
 families of this village have been participating in no less than twenty-five
 reciprocating pairs of groups, the exchange sometimes consisting of no more
 [177] than one recorded exchange of women between two villages. Interestingly
 [361] enough, it was Australian pressure towards village consolidation that emphasised
 the tendency to dual organisation.

361 First of all, co-residence tends to increase the number of marriages between
 178 local clan groups which are thus thrown together. Usually, such local clan groups
 614 are already reciprocating pairs, but when co-residence is established, they begin
 to reciprocate at a greater rate. For instance, the Seho and Jegase local clan
 592 groups in Sivepe, comprising together sixteen households, are linked by seven
 current Seho-Jegase marriages. This was sufficient to define the seven Seho
 households and the nine Jegase households as standing in an affinal relation to
 one another.

614 In such a village the other households tend to be classified as adhering to one
 621 of the two dominant local clan groups. A few years before I came to Sivepe,
 166 Rimoldi and Waddel had both visited the village and recorded the presence of a
 616 third local clan group, called Timumu. On my arrival I found that this group,
 consisting of three households, had adopted the Jegase clan name, thus
 establishing a tidy dualist pattern between one group defined as agnates and a
 second group defined as affines. A few months before I settled in Sivepe, six
 households migrated there from Garombi. All the men were members of the
 Sorovi clan, though of different lineages. A year after they migrated, five of the
 householders were classified as part of the Jegase clan (by the use of sibling
 terms of address) while the sixth was classified as part of the Seho clan.

621 I found a similar pattern in eleven other multi-clan villages I visited. When I
 614 first inquired, I was mostly told that they were two-clan villages, the names of
 616 the clans being given in each case. Two of the villages were said to have four
 clans, two pairs of two. Whenever I sought detailed data, I found male
 householders belonging to additional clans. In Hohorita I was told that the front
 half was inhabited by two clans, and the back half by two further clans. In fact
 twelve clans were represented; when this came to light, my informants explained
 to me that the clan names I had been given at first were those of the 'main'
 clans. There seemed to be a strong ideological notion that a multi-clan village (or
 [582] village section) should consist of two local clan groups. Furthermore, this
 arrangement affects the marriage rules: once Timumu became joined with Jegase
 under the same clan name, marriages between the two fused local clan groups
 became prohibited.

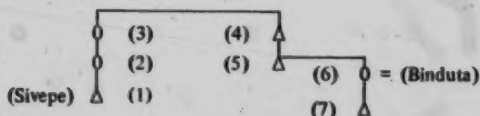
5. Complementary Opposition in Village Topography

If the reduction of multi-clan to two-clan villages had occurred only in
 Sivepe and a few other villages, it could easily be explained solely by processes
 of clan fusion which are prevalent throughout the area and which will be
 discussed further below. But I found it to be a regular feature of the

601 Within the village, two different principles prevail according to the presence or absence of a generation difference. Where a generation difference exists, opposite sex linkages are always expressed in terms of address. A mother's brother is always called *epe*. The *epe/ahije* bond is based on mutual affection and voluntary support, whereas the *mama/meni* bond is based on strong mutual obligations and an authority/obedience relationship. On the other hand, collaterals of the same local clan group will never call each other *simbo* even though biologically they may be cross-cousins. They use sibling terms and are strictly bound by exogamy rules. In a multi-clan village, collaterals of different clans will sometimes use sibling, sometimes cross-cousin terminology. Here the criterion is whether the persons concerned shared a plant emblem (*hae*).

582 A rule that was expressed to me often and forcibly was that people should
614 not marry if they share a paternal or maternal *hae*. The relationship of a person
824 with his *hae* is one of complete identification. If a man says that his *hae* is *sasaha* grass, he means that *sasaha* grass is his 'ancestor' and that he himself is *sasaha* grass; i.e. he is completely identified with it. If two people are identified with the same plant in this way they are siblings; they cannot possibly be anything else.

601 In general therefore a *simbo* is someone with whom one does not share a *hae*.
602 This rule obtains whether or not *ego* and *alter* live in the same village. A study of actual kin relationships between *simbo* in different villages bore this out. A typical *simbo* relationship would be between *fafasio* children/*famobrosoo*. The *fafasio*'s *hae* would be transmitted to her son, but not to her son's children. The latter would therefore share no *hae* with the grandmother's natal family. Some *simbo* relationships are far more distant than the one quoted here. A typical example is the following:



Here the *simbo* relationship links families of two villages, Sivepe and Binduta. The genealogical pattern may be accounted for by extremely strong attachment between siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and for the tendency for this strong attachment to be reproduced in the next generation. The genealogical connection between *simbo* often passes between two or more of these *du* linkages. A person thus tends to have numerous *simbo* scattered in many villages with some of which has own village may never have intermarried. Even a limited amount of intermarriage between villages may set up a good number of *simbo* links between them, as the links of filiation and siblingship to which the genealogies refer are often merely classificatory. For instance, the individuals numbered (3) and (4) in the above diagram were not true but classificatory siblings.

It will be noticed that the *simbo* category can be defined only by a series of negative rules. It is a set of distant kinsmen which remains when positively

defined sets of consanguines have been excluded. Marriage with the *simbo* 601
cannot therefore be regarded as following the principles of an 'elementary' 602
system of kinship. In practice it does not take many generations before the
intermarrying groups forming a 'reciprocating pair' are married out, i.e. unable
to supply any further partners to each other. In Sivepe, Jegase and Seho, even
with only seven current intermarriages out of sixteen households and a
reciprocating relationship of less than three generations, seemed to have nearly
exhausted all marital possibilities. The difficulties of my interpreter, a bachelor 582 ●
belonging to the Jegase clan, will serve as an example. He was not allowed to 614
marry the girl he loved (Seho clan) because she was a classificatory mother's
sister's daughter. But there would have been equally grave obstacles if he had
wished to marry into four of the remaining six Seho households, as the girls of
these households shared either his father's or his mother's *hae*. The rule
prohibiting marriage with a person sharing a paternal or maternal *hae* has an
interesting randomising effect that should be briefly discussed. At least
forty-two *hae* were used in Sivepe. The persons sharing these *hae* were by no
means always close relatives. They might be wives of Sivepe men, and born in a
quite different village. Again, some people had many *hae*, four or five was quite
common. In these circumstances the Orokaiva rule could never produce a stable
system of four or more sections, as any section might at any time adopt a *hae*
which would prevent marriage with another section. Furthermore, any porten-
tous event, such as a woman falling to her death from a certain species of tree,
would lead to the introduction of a new *hae* which might be adopted by several
persons for reasons of sentiment or religious awe rather than the regulation of
future marriages. Finally, individuals not infrequently transmitted maternal *hae*
to their children, especially if they resided matrilocally or uxorilocally.

We conclude therefore that the rule of marriage with the *simbo* resembles a
game of chance in which the odds become progressively more unfavourable,
though the rate at which they become worse is itself determined by chance. In
practice, therefore, every village played at many tables at once, not only because
of ecological circumstances, vicissitudes of war and the need for alliances, but
also because the rules of marriage themselves make no other strategy possible.

7. Sex Affiliation

It is an understood principle that under a system of restricted exchange the
matrimonial destiny of brother and sister lies in the same kinship group whereas
under generalised exchange it is different. Williams' data on the Koiari, as
analysed by Lévi-Strauss, show that this tribe strongly emphasises difference of
matrimonial destiny by the device of giving the brother a paternal and the sister
a maternal clan name. Among the Orokaiva the principle of sex affiliation is
likewise utilised, though far more feebly, to convey a simple message. The
firmest evidence is found in kinship terminology and in the theory of paternity.

For the purpose of componential analysis of terms used in addressing affines, 601
one dimension of contrast must be added to those given in the previous section.
We shall distinguish sister exchange and *dorobu* marriages by the following code:

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exchange alone, nor by rules of complex generalised exchange alone. If the Orokaiva had only restricted exchange, they would not be periodically forced to look for new groups with whom to intermarry. If the Orokaiva had only complex exchange (as Meggitt seems to believe is the case for all people of the New Guinea Highlands, viz. the Introduction to Glasse and Meggitt, 1969), then there would be no explanation for the various forms of preferential marriage that are still practised and the tendency to establish forms of dual organisation.

From one viewpoint we may say that the Orokaiva system is '*une sorte de faille de l'échange restreint*', because the Orokaiva are forever trying to re-establish such a system. From another viewpoint it is true that, having entered into new alliances and thus moved in the direction of a system of generalised exchange, they always attempt as soon as possible to convert the new alliance into a moiety system. The fear of setting up alliances with new groups is still very strong today, in spite of wide experience with travel among foreign tribes when men take up wage employment outside their own district. They still marry wives preferably from their own village, or one of the villages with which reciprocal arrangements exist. There was not a single current Sivepe marriage that fell outside this pattern.

It is certainly curious that the chief effect of white contact upon the marriage system was to emphasise the tendency to the formation of moieties through enforced village consolidation. One would have expected that greater physical security, greater mobility and the contacts brought about through labour migration would have widened rather than narrowed the men's matrimonial universe. One imagines that processes of social and economic development must ultimately make an ideology of restricted exchange obsolete. Meanwhile, however, we observe mainly a movement in the opposite direction. Not only has government pressure unintentionally increased the opportunities for village endogamy, and moiety formation, but the combined teaching of government and mission has deprecated elopement marriages, and penalised the showing of hostility between affines. The war expeditions which led indirectly to so many marriages were stopped. The concern with pacification on the part of the authorities led to an even greater preference than previously for 'safe' marriages and therefore a narrowing of the marriage universe. My records show more marriages with partners from distant villages prior to 1915 than can be found over the last generation. It is therefore complex generalised rather than restricted exchange that was (unintentionally) discouraged.

10 Conclusions

This examination of the Orokaiva marriage system indicates that membership in corporate groups (the *hae*, the local clan group and the village) all have a significant influence on marriage choice, not only negatively, by prohibiting certain partners under a rule of exogamy, but also positively, by pursuing from time to time the establishment of forms of dual organisation. Certainly every individual is more or less free to choose between the two existing systems - direct exchange and complex generalised exchange. There is, however, a constant feature on the level of group relationships, namely the existence of reciprocating pairs of groups. Another constant feature is the temporary nature of these

582 reciprocal relationships which must collapse, due to the operation of the rules,
614 after a few generations. This collapse may either take the form of a separation
583 between the two groups or of a fusion into one local clan group. I have shown
that the genesis of many Orokaiva local clan groups may be found in this
process.

602 In the terms used in previous chapters one may categorise sister exchange and
the women exchanges in reciprocating pairs of groups as phases of cycles of
583 positive reciprocity. On the other hand, marriage by capture and elopement is a
614 phase of a cycle of negative reciprocity. The long series of prestations offered by
the bridegroom and the humiliations suffered by him have the effect of shifting
the social relationship with the affinal group into a cycle of positive reciprocity.
We therefore do not need to suppose that the bride is regarded as symbolically
equivalent to *dorobu* as some African analogies might suggest. *Dorobu* is
sufficiently explained as a magical device whereby a reversal in the mode of
reciprocity (from negative to positive) is effected. The full range of gifts
symbolises the wide scope of the resulting social relationship.

The theory assumes a profound dependence upon the affinal group. This
dependence is in fact emphasised in many social, economic, political and
religious situations. Ideally, an affinal relationship leads to the establishment of a
pair of reciprocating groups. In the light of this understanding, it becomes clear
that the exchanges analysed in the preceding chapters are consequences of the
group relations set up by the marriage system. In chapter V, I showed the
prevalence of a principle of dual allegiance resulting from the inheritance of land
originally belonging to the mother's brother. I showed that a critical situation
arises in the third generation when the uterine family does not renounce its
residual rights but the social relations which give reality to these residual rights,
viz. dual allegiance, becomes problematical.

583 The system would appear, indeed, to be so automatically productive of crises
614 that one might wonder how it could ever have been maintained. It becomes
much easier to understand if we recognise that the daughter of the marriage is
expected to marry in the mother's brother's village. The land can thus revert to
the people of the original village by a series of two uterine transfers. The system
looks a little like the 'rope' of the Mundugumor (Mead 1935), and the latter may
well have a similar explanation. It has a clear political utility as the dual
allegiance pattern forms the basis of Orokaiva political alliances. It is buttressed
by religious beliefs, as the spirit of a male child may be derived from either an
agnatic or a uterine ancestor, by the process of reincarnation to which I have
already referred.

Ultimately there would appear to be two possible outcomes of such
hereditary land gifts: fusion of the reciprocating pairs of groups into one local
clan group and separation on more or less hostile terms. These two outcomes
correspond to the two modalities of the marriage system. The hostile modality is
not a *failure* of the system but a natural and accepted part of it. Thus, the
frequent migration of groups, as evidenced in Sivepe and many parts of New
Guinea, should not be regarded as purely adventitious, but is structurally
determined as part of a system which, as we have seen, could not work over a
long period with a static population.⁴

The frequent exchanges of cooked taro reported in Chapter VI tend to keep

After 1958 most of the coffee produced by indigenous growers in the Northern District came from plots which were planted by individuals (largely as a result of agricultural extension services) and registered under the Higaturu Local Government Council land registration scheme. The communal project was formally abandoned in 1960 with the repeal of the Native Plantations Ordinance. (1) Crown lands reverted to the Crown and native lands to their owners. The Government has treated the Crown lands as reserves for the local people and has not taken any action to restrict their use as communal plantations. Today, however, only 9 of the 16 pre-war plantations which we visited are producing at all, and they at only a fraction of their potential output. 245 423 433

We traced the history of the Ongoho community block in detail in a series of separate interviews at each of the villages which had participated in the project. (2) The collapse of the project there was caused by disagreement over land rights, apportionment of work and distribution of income. The disputing parties were the various sub-clans which had participated in the project. The sub-clans may be roughly equated with villages. (3) 578 [24] [64]

Before the war, strict control by the Administration precluded the emergence of these particular problems: the land had been demarcated and the trees planted under close supervision, fixed patterns of work were imposed, and the money was paid to each man by a government official. By the late 1940's however, the sanctions for failure to work were not in fact being exercised, and attendance was irregular. The Ongoho "coffee boss" who had been responsible for local supervision from about 1945 found the dissension too much to control and resigned in 1948. Little work was being done and the govern- 657 245 245

(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Repeal Ordinance 1960.

(2) This was necessary because the issue is still very contentious and feelings about the disputes over the community gardens are still strong.

(3) In fact each village is regarded as being that of a particular sub-clan, despite the existence of smaller enclaves of other sub-clans in most of them. Marriage is usually (but not exclusively) between sub-clans and almost invariably within the Asigi tribal group. [62] [582]

511 only through his father and even in this case his sister, her children and his daughter subsequently married in the village so he is now also living with other cognates and with affines. The 6 other men are living in the same village as their father's kin, but for 4 of them this is also their wife's home village, for another it is also his mother's village and the last man is co-resident with patrilineal, matrilineal and affinal kin simultaneously. In several cases certain people fall into more than one of these kinship categories in relation to 1 person. Six householders have sisters who have married within the village.¹

In view of the fact that such a variety of relationships is found in this group, Hogbin's and Wedgwood's outline of Orokaiva local grouping, which is based on secondary sources, does not seem relevant to present day social organization in this neighbourhood. They regard the Orokaiva as patrilineal² (1952-4:64 ff.) and suggest that the parish or local political unit is an exogamous patrilineal group whose members were strongly united and unready to assimilate outsiders. Like Williams (1930:131-3) they mention frequent exceptions to this rule of post-marital residence yet seem to underestimate the degree of variability in the composition of the village and to overemphasize the solidarity of the unilineal group and the importance of the preference for patrilineal residence and of exogamy in localized patrilineal groups.

Williams on the other hand says 'the Orokaiva organization very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is patrilineal' (1925:407) and points to 'the laxity of marriage regulations'. Even in the small Aiga clan 'exogamy is not a hard and fast rule'; preference for intraclan marriage is sometimes expressed (1930:131-2). It may be thought a 'proper time to keep the women in the village' - which Williams here implicitly equates with clan - 'in the hope of building up its population' (1925:408).

621 A striking proportion of marriages are contracted between members of groups in close proximity. Data available for 35 marriages contracted over 3 genealogical generations by the householders of our sample, or by their parents, siblings or children, show that in 22 cases 1 spouse came either from the

¹ Four instances of brother-sister exchange marriage among members of Sivepe were recorded (i.e., 8 marriages).

² Williams (1930:131) uses the term 'patrilocal'.

³ The local organization in this neighbourhood seems closer to the category of 'osculant multicarpellary parishes' than any other (see also Hogbin 1963:32). However, we believe that the abstraction, if legitimate now is not the most informative.

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take place in a church.

199
799 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually patrilocal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).

III

584 In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.¹ His was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.² The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His mother died several years before his marriage and his father remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and reached Standard V. He was baptized in 1958. In 1960, when he was about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the government for \$3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately \$16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village. After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, thereby becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

¹ See map, p. 84^A

² See diagram, p. 85^A and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

166 people were shifted about two miles eastward to a site adjacent to the wartime Inonda airstrip. People of several other villages (including Ajoro, the home of the Tandai'undi) were also resettled in the same area for safety. We will refer to this as Inonda II. During 1952, when the danger of further eruption was considered to be over, they shifted their village to Inonda III which was approximately a mile closer to their planting lands. In 1956 the people who had been temporarily resettled for safety at Inonda moved back to their respective villages. The local people then moved to their present site, Inonda IV, which is midway between their food gardens and their coffee plots.

Demographic and social structure

64 At the time of our survey, of a total population of 45 living in 8 households, 23 were members of the Andiriha sub-clan and 5 members of the Jego'undi sub-clan. The remaining 17 belonged to other clans. Of these 17, 8 were wives of members of the Inonda sub-clans and another 7 were relatives of these wives. The remaining 2 were the children of the sister of an Andiriha man who had come with their mother on a visit. (1) The number of persons in Inonda households ranged from 3 to 10 with an average of 5.6. There were 4 nuclear, 1 polygamous and 3 extended families.

The term 'clan' will be used to refer to the large patrilineal Orokaiva descent groups, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor but cannot trace it in fact. Each clan has a common name and a common plant emblem or erahu. (2) The clan name (frequently that of the founding ances-

(1) Of the 17 persons who were not members of the Inonda sub-clan, 4 came from the Kongaria clan of Urio village and 7 from the Oremba'undi and other clans of Hohorita village. This reflects the marriage links with these villages as six of the nine wives came from Urio or Hohorita. Marriage links with Urio are said to have been maintained for more than two generations, but those with Hohorita began in the last decade.

(2) Sometimes known as herahu or heratu. For a detailed description of the nature and function of the grahu see Williams, 1925. The grahu of the Andiriha clan is tigari, any plant tied in a particular knot.

64/ tor) is suffixed by the term 'undi (the descendants of a particular ancestor) or haha (which is sometimes shortened to ha). (1) In conversation the Orokaiva often refer to the jawo (name) and speak of members of the one clan as embo jawo vahai (people of the same name). Alternatively, one's clan is frequently referred to as one's orope (men's house, as each clan group with-in a village occupied a separate men's house). More commonly, however, people used the English word 'clan' even when speaking in the vernacular.

Clans are usually dispersed and in the case of the Andiriha separate sub-clans are to be found in at least five villages. We use the term 'sub-clan' to refer to a local branch of a clan (i.e. within a particular village or a cluster of neighbouring hamlets). Orokaiva people use the terms quoted in the last paragraph for sub-clan as well as for clan, and distinguish sub-clans when necessary by adding the name of the village in which they are located. Clans and sub-clans are not exogamous but people express a clear preference for marriage outside the clan.

613 A sub-clan is usually divided into a number of lineages each of which has a name and an erahu which is distinct from that of the clan as a whole. (2) To determine a man's lineage it is usual to ask the name of his haije (the ancestor or ancestral name from whom he traces). Several persons were unable to trace their precise relationship to other members of the same lineage. Genealogies are short and no person could name any ancestor earlier than those who settled in Sambogo about fifty years ago; and only a few of those could be named. (582) The lineage was said to be strictly exogamous but an instance of marriage within a lineage was noted. Some lineages are further

(1) These terms refer to descent groups as a whole. An individual male uses the suffix ni and a female ni. Thus a man of Jogo'undi clan is referred to as Jogoje and a woman as Jogoje.

(2) The plant emblems of the lineages are as follows: Jowemba'embo lineage, malina emblem; Oiva'undi lineage, para emblem; Darafa'embo lineage, hawa emblem; Jegotumo lineage, para emblem; Jogo'undi lineage, tipona emblem. These emblems are all plants, whereas that of the clan as a whole is a particular knot, and any leaf, vine or grass may be used to form it.

628 "ohorita), there should be a great many linkages between individuals, and there should be no major dissension, between the villages, for the time being.

I have already mentioned that each village has its own range of "closely allied" settlements: the Sivepe people would always mention Garombi and Binduta, while some families would also mention Sasembata, Kongohambo and Torogota; nobody would ever mention Isoge. But in Garombi and Binduta, Isoge was classified as a "closely allied" village. It was the same in Inonda, which mentioned Ajoro^A and Musou, while Ajoro mentioned Inonda and Hohota (see Map VIII).

It is not easy to find a single criterion by which a village may be classified as "closely allied." One approach might be to count the number of informants who have close consanguines and/or affines in the village under consideration. On that basis (see Table 9) the ten "closest" villages to Sivepe would be: Sasembata, Garombi, Avala, Hamburata, Korogombata (i.e., Binduta), Hojana, Binduta, Isivita, Togahou and Soroputa. Now these are not anything like the ten villages geographically closest to Sivepe. Togahou and Isivita are both situated outside the Waseta tribal district as defined by Williams. The list does not include Kongohambo which is less than one mile from the present site of Sivepe village.

On the other hand, if frequency of social contacts be a measure, the number of contacts with another village is determined to a large extent by geographical distance. Though only three Sivepe informants had first or second degree consanguines in Kongohambo, and only one Sivepe girl, to my knowledge, was married in Kongohambo, there were more distant links which were assiduously maintained and the closer links led to far more visits than, for instance, the links with Togahou, which was 15 miles away.

628 If we compare the contacts between "closely allied" villages
731 as between 1951 and 1967, the most striking difference is the effect of newly formed organizational units in which certain villages are administratively grouped together. Before the eruption, there was a great deal of contact between persons in these villages, through individual kinship and friendship links, but collective contacts remained confined to feasts, deaths and the settlement of quarrels. Individual contacts, presumably, were as frequent then as they are now, as it is characteristic of the "closely allied" villages that marriages were regularly contracted between them, so that most people would have some affinal or maternal kin in the allied village.

628 After the eruption, however, several modern organizations of
631 a range wider than the village were set up under Australian influence.
731 The building and maintaining of the Sasembata mission station, and the holding of regular Sunday services there, led to regular institutionalized cooperation between the villages. The men built the school and the hospital together, the children went to school together, the people worshipped and attended church festivals

[794] A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]
[797] B [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

628 position in the structure: they held, one might say, a dual citizenship: effective citizenship in Sivepe where they lived, and residual citizenship in Soroputa and Agenahambo (in the case of one of them). Other Sivepe men held a similar kind of residual citizenship in various Isivita villages, e.g., Kiorota, Bagevoturu and others again in Awala, Koropata, etc. The marks of this residual citizenship were in each case: residual land rights (e.g., hunting and fishing rights, rights to the produce of certain trees), regular visiting, clearly traceable kinship links in the [62] patri- or matriline. In inter-village contacts we may therefore distinguish two types of role: the leader and the ambassador. The leader does not directly deal with the leader of another village, except if he happens to have residual citizenship there. Trust can be established only if the approach is made by a residual citizen who, by implication, is offering tangible security (his residual citizenship rights) for the truthfulness of his words and the honesty of his intentions.

It is in the relations with places such as Soroputa and Agenahambo that we can still see the traditional pattern of inter-village relations; within the Sasembata district itself, this pattern has become slightly obscured by the development of new forms of organisation under the influence of mission and government. Nonetheless, even "in the type of relations I have just discussed, the pax Australiana has had its influence. If we survey the short list of inter-village linkages between Sivepe and the more distant parts of the Waseta "tribe" (and "more distant" effectively means no more here than over four miles away), we notice that in pre-contact times, wars with Waseta and Isivita were reported. The feast offered to Togahop by Sivepe in 1967 was an unprecedented event; the persons who mediated between the two villages to arrange the feast were descendants of war captives.

628 From the viewpoint of the present study, it is interesting
619 to inquire whether the eruption has had any effects that drew the
[731] Waseta "tribe" more closely together. This question is complicated by the conflicting descriptions we have of Orokaiva "tribes." A full discussion of the nature of Orokaiva "tribes" would be out of place here. Rimoldi (1966: 29-37) brings forward some strong arguments why a division into tribes, as attempted by Chinnery and Beaver, and Williams, is a hazardous enterprise. I have already stated my own opinion that the Orokaiva view of his social world is a set of concentric circles of increasing radius. Thus, I would agree with Williams that there is an area, comprising several dozen villages, within which an Orokaiva practises what Williams calls "intra-group morality" (1930: 311). Normally these several dozen villages are those immediately surrounding the village of residence. Within this area, marriages are contracted, cannibalistic raids do not occur and fights tend to involve comparatively little bloodshed. The circle of "intra-group morality" varies for every
[582]
[721]
[266]

629 village. Williams, in marking out his "Waseta tribe," with Waseta
619 at the centre, excluded the Soroputa people from this "tribe"
[266] (vide Map X) but "intra-group morality" definitely prevailed
between Soroputa and neighboring Sivepe. There never were
cannibalistic raids between these two villages, which included
each other in their "intra-group morality" circle.

It so happens that the people who were brought together
at Ilimo consisted preponderantly of members of what Williams
called the "Waseta tribe." The only bonds existing between the
members of this tribe were the individual kinship and friendship
networks and the solidarity of "intra-group morality" circles.
The camp was built as a set of separate villages, each under its
own village constable, eating and living separately, though more
[572] closely together than formerly. I obtained from a number of Sivepe
men a list of "friends" and inquired into the occasion when the
[582] friendship started; in no case did it start at Ilimo. On the other
hand, the camps led to a number of marriages between people from
different villages. This tendency was especially pronounced at
Hohorita, which is understandable as so many refugees had lost
their families during the eruption. In Sivepe I found one case
of a man who married an Agenahambo woman whom he met at Ilimo.

731 If "tribal" solidarity was dubious before the Ilimo camp
period, (the atmosphere of an evacuation camp was certainly not
629 a suitable one for developing it. Both Beleshaw and Keessing
619 emphasize the anxiety of the inhabitants, their strong desire to
return to their home villages, while I have also emphasized their
distrust of "others" who might wish to occupy their land; these
"others" would inevitably be other members of the Waseta "tribe,"
although perhaps the Europeans were likewise suspected of predatory
aims. (For such suspicion, I do not, however, have evidence.)

A sense of district solidarity did tend to grow up after
the eruption, but it can be traced to formal organisations in
which Orokaiva occupied roles which brought them into contact with
people from other villages. Sometimes these were élite roles,
which will be considered below; sometimes they were roles open
to anyone, such as that of worker in paid employment, patient in
a hospital, pupil in a secondary or advanced primary school,
participant in a large-scale public celebration, such as were held
in Popondetta and Saiho.

657 The government is actively attempting to create among the
571 Orokaiva larger solidary units than existed in the past. We may
thus explain the various attempts that are made to bring Orokaiva
people together in the local government council, at numerous
sports meetings and celebrations such as at Christmas and New
Year, and by any other expedient means. Without the popular
acceptance of the local government council the establishing of a
land boundary between Sivepe and Soroputa or Agenahambo, to stay
with my previous example, would have been hard to imagine. Yet it
A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 9--Analyst]

659 was accomplished without any European power bearer making his
571 appearance and any sense of compulsion being created--the people
clearly considered the boundaries advocated by the government to be
in the popular interest. Yet the bonds of solidarity this being
formed do not strengthen the unity of the so-called Waseta tribe
but the unity of the Iigaturu council area as a whole.

628 In this section I have said little about Inonda, because
I did not have time to clarify what "tribe" Inonda really belongs.
619 Williams' tribal map shows Inonda as Sauaha; Crocombe and Hogbin
describe Sauaha, quite correctly, as a clan resident near the
[114] settlement of Dobuduru (where the people speak a different dialect,
presumably that which Williams called Dirou). Clearly, the task
of establishing "tribal" units in this district would need to be
done again, if it is worth doing at all, which I doubt, for reasons
already given.

Section 5: Contacts With Other Orokaiva

628 Generally, contacts outside the "Waseta tribe" are sparse.
During the year, only one visit was made to Sivepe, in a kinship
[582] context, by persons from another district. This was a group from
Kokoda, where a Sivepe man married 40 or more years ago, and the
[574] visit was from that man's children. Several Sivepe persons quoted
as an ancestor a woman from Ajoro, a village close to Inonda. It
turned out that all these linkages were due to one single event,
namely the capture by the Isivita people of three Ajoro women
during a raid. Two of these found their way to Garombi where they
married; the third woman's son came to live in Sivepe. Descendants
[424] of the Sivepe man continue to exercise each year their hunting
rights at Ajoro. I could not find other references to ancestors
beyond the "Waseta tribe" apart from these. Some people mentioned
[572] a friend, but rarely more than one, who came from another "tribal"
district. Often these friends were found during employment, or at
the mission school, or they were persons with special roles in
mission or government, who had come to the Sasembata district in
the course of their jobs. When women had such friends, it was more
often due to a kinship link. An interesting example of the extending
[526] of such links under modern conditions occurred when a man from
Sasembata village, employed in Kokoda, invited a number of fellow
workers to Sasembata for a football game. These men were likewise
in Kokoda for employment and came from the Aiga district.

When the members of the "Waseta tribe" were accommodated at
[659] Ilimo, they were not only the guests of the government which
[731] supplied food and other comforts, but also of the people of Ilimo
[574] village who had agreed to the camp being established. From the
little I could find out about relationships between hosts and

657 Though most of the contacts between village people and the
647 office-bearers arise out of official roles, the local priest, the
177 assistant medical officer in charge of the Sassenbata mission
hospital, the mission teachers, the council's sanitary officer and
others who lived near Sivepe, or temporarily stayed near Sivepe,
tended to have at least one or two families with whom they were on
mutual visiting terms and who regarded them as personal friends.
At the same time, their relationship with many of the other Sivepe
families remained definitely formal.

Contacts occurred almost always either in Sivepe or in a
village nearby, on the initiative of the office-bearer (if the contact
was official). Formal visits by councillors, sanitary inspector,
[777] coffee factory officers occurred about once monthly. Contacts with
Church personnel occurred almost daily at the mission station,
though formal calls by the priest or a teacher to Sivepe were made
perhaps once a month, usually in connection with some quarrel that
[757] had arisen. The village was most active in its contacts with the
mission hospital, several patients presenting themselves daily with
minor ailments. Serious cases were often referred to Saiho hospital
[743] and most of the referred cases actually went to Saiho. There was a
[758] monthly visit from nurses dealing with infant health and expectant
mothers; most of the mothers took their babies to be checked and
weighed and no objections were made to preventive injections.

There were no cases, in Sivepe, of inter-marriage between
[582] local people and Papuans occupying these specialized roles, but in
Inonda one man married the mission teacher's daughter. Otherwise,
contacts of the type described in this section were sparser in
Inonda, as the mission and medical establishment was at Hohota,
[232] three miles away, and on a far smaller scale. Inonda did have some
direct contact with government over agricultural matters as one
man expressed interest in entering an experimental scheme for
growing beef cattle. He has adequate land and education, but the
scheme had not gone beyond initial discussions by the time I left.
[494] Finally, Inonda had an arrangement with a Papuan who was a distant
affine and who had a truck with which he took garden produce weekly
from Inonda to the Habi hospital. The village people paid this
man for his cartage. No comparable arrangement existed in Sivepe.
Finally, contact with the officers of the Local Government Council
seemed to me less frequent in Inonda than in Sivepe and to generate
much less interest. This was no doubt due to rivalries between the
village leader and the councillor, but also to a less keen interest
in council objectives on the part of the majority of families.

177 The contacts described in this section, unlike the ones
discussed earlier, do not characteristically occur in a kinship
context. Hence, the contacts do not necessarily occur equally with
all categories of members of the community, but when the problems
have to do with land or politics or the conduct of village affairs,
the married men are principally concerned; in educational matters

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613 in terms of a rigorous genealogical model, which is unfamiliar to Orokaiva, but in the sense that both are identified with the same plant or substance and thus very closely akin.

[614] While clan affiliation is, in practise, determined by political considerations, and a person may decide, upon calculations of family advantage, to assume a new clan name, the hae is utterly unpolitical and hae affiliation is a better indication of true blood relationship than membership of the same clan. In the hae, but not the clan, a kind of hierarchical classificatory principle may be found. To explain this, I should first point out that most informants I interviewed had at least four hae, two paternal and two maternal ones, and not infrequently I recorded as many as three paternal hae, and a total of five. Many people, when using a hae as a mark of identity, for instance on the road, to show they had been there, would actually use two hae plants. For instance, almost everyone in the district used the hae called sasaha (a grass), but if another hae, tandere, was added, a person finding these signs would be able to identify the owner as one of a quite limited group of people. For the purpose of this discussion, I shall use the word hae as meaning such a combination of emblems which sufficiently define identity. Such a combination of hae never defines an individual or even an extended family as usually several extended families share the same combination. But the patrilineal units thus defined are always smaller than a clan. To this extent, earlier authors are thus justified in calling them "lineages." It would be wrong to suppose, however, that the same combination of hae cannot be shared by fellow villagers belonging to different clans, for this is often found. Thus, those translating the word hae as "lineage" should be careful to avoid the implication that such "lineages" are segments of clans.

The population of Sivepe is very hard to classify into hae because I noted 42 hae in use, only 11 of which were shared by at least four adults. Nonetheless, the fact that two persons share a hae is often a valuable clue pointing to a close relationship that is of considerable social significance, but that might otherwise be [621] ignored as idiosyncratic. By far the closest bond that can exist between the members of different extended families is that they share both a clan name and common hae. When such a bond exists, rules of [592] exogamy are stringently enforced. These rules also apply, but less stringently, if two persons share the same clan name, but no hae, or if they share a hae but no clan name.

614 For our present purpose, it will be most convenient if we
621 classify Sivepe households according to the clannishness of that person in the household who is what Fischer (1958) has called the "sponsor," i.e., the person by whose presence in the household the residence of the family in Sivepe can be explained. On that basis, 13 households and the bachelors' house may be classified as Jegase, eight households as Seho and six as Sorovi, as in the first half of 1967. It is desirable, however, to observe how rapidly this pattern of clan

614 affiliations has changed. In 1962, when Rimoldi did his survey of the
621 community, not a single Sorovi family had arrived. Moreover, he
showed four residences and one bachelor's house as attached to the
Timumu clan, a clan name that was not quoted to me. The same families
still inhabit Sivepe (except for one old man who died) but they now
call themselves Jegase. (This fusion between Jegase and Timumu
occurred, to my knowledge, only between the Sivepe local clan groups.)
In 1962, Jegase had eight residences and one bachelor's house, so that
the overall pattern in these four years has remained much the same
except for the fusion of the clans. Bachelors of the enlarged Jegase
clan shared one bachelors' house in 1967, seeing that the clans had
[731] been joined. The major change between the time of the eruption and
1962 was the migration of three families from Binduta to Sivepe, all
classified as Jegase in 1962. Just as it was possible to change the
clan name of the entire Timumu group by a simple decision of the two
local clan groups, so also it was possible to change the clan name
of individuals simply as a way of emphasizing common loyalties which
developed out of a combination of cognatic links and contingent
circumstances. (This pattern is characteristic of New Guinea patri-
lineal clans in many areas and has been discussed recently in an
excellent paper by J. A. Barnes, 1967.)

361 One striking characteristic of the village layout of New Sivepe
is that all the Soho houses are grouped together on the same bende
614 while the other bende of the main village is entirely made up of
Jegase houses. Sorovi, the clan which migrated to Sivepe from Garombi
616 shortly before my arrival, has mainly settled along the brow of the
hill behind the village, probably partly because that area happens to
be owned by a Sorovi man (who continued to live in Garombi), so that
in case of a quarrel, nobody could question their right to build on
that land. The other houses on the brow of the hill were built by
Jegase people who preferred to keep out of the regular two-line
system. People often talked about their intention to build all the
houses along the two regular lines eventually.

The basic structural feature of New Sivepe was this dualism,
expressed in the division between two "sides" each comprising one clan.
This kind of village plan has been studied in much detail by Lévi-Strauss
[582] under the term "diametric structure" (1958: 150). An essential part
of this structure is that each side is exogamous but that the two
[601] sides intermarry with one another. It is thus in Sivepe where people
living along the same side address each other always by consanguineal
kin terms whereas people living on the opposite side tend to be addressed
by affinal terms, with the obvious exceptions. The reserve and
formality observed when people cross the araha to go to the other side
is easily explained when it is remembered that on the other side they
will meet affines.

It will be noted that this pattern is very much less clearly
discernible in Old Sivepe where the two-clan system was not yet worked
out. On the other hand, I have found it in several other resettlement

CHAPTER III: Degree of Homogeneity of the Community

621 To what extent do we find ethnic diversity in this population?
The answer to this question depends very much on our concept of homogeneity. If we look merely at the diversity of clans and of places of birth of present community members, as stated by themselves, a remarkably homogeneous picture may be presented for Sivepe: out of 28 male adults actually resident in Sivepe, 26 were born within two miles of the present village site; the other two were born in Soroputa, which is hardly more than four miles away. Both the Soroputa men had married Sivepe women; they were the only two families that were overtly exorilocal. Although the rest of the families were all overtly virilocal, only seven out of 33 adult Sivepe females came from a village more than two miles away from the present village site. None of these seven were over 45 years of age; all but two were under 35 years old. Furthermore, six of these seven women married into the Jegase clan. Only one of them married into Seho; in this case, the woman had married a Jegase man, become divorced, and then remarried into Seho.

621 The traditional pattern was for a man to marry a woman from a nearby village; the present generation of Seho householders had all followed this tradition. The more modern pattern is to choose women from further afield; this had become a frequent practise for the younger Jegase men who tended to choose wives from villages two to four (but never more) miles from Sivepe. Sorovi had followed the traditional pattern, without one exception. From this viewpoint, homogeneity was extreme.

563 In Inonda, two of the nine adult male inhabitants were born outside the district: one came from Arafa, in the Managalasi district and was captured by Inonda people in war as an infant. This fact was 167 at first concealed from me and only elicited when inconsistencies arose. If one asks his clan name, he answers it is Andiriha. He has two sons living in the village, both married. The other immigrant is a Sangara man who was a mission teacher at Seva before the eruption, came to Inonda with the other Seva people, and did not return to Seva when the others went back to their old village. His two daughters both married Inonda men.

621 Of the ten adult women living at Inonda, four came from the Sangara tribe, one from Kendata in the Sasembata district and the others 628 from villages in the vicinity of Inonda. The term "vicinity" has a slightly different meaning in the Inonda district than in the far more densely populated area around Sivepe. The villages from which Inonda 582 women tended to come were three or four miles away rather than just one mile. To this greater geographical distance corresponded a greater

177 the people. When the Japanese were gone he went back to his old village;
797 around 1946 he took over a school at Sewa, established after the war
in a hitherto heathen area. Moses told people to build school rooms,
houses for the teachers and a church. The people worked hard on these
projects because they wanted to send their children to school. The
school served a number of mountain villages in the vicinity of Sewa.

After the eruption, Moses, who had fled to Inonda, was transferred
by the Bishop, first to the mission station at Gona, later to Togahou.
About 15 months later, he was posted to Inonda, following an appeal
from the Sewa people to the Bishop. This group had not had schooling
since the eruption. At Inonda, Moses asked for a house to be built
for him as well as a school. His pupils included children not only
from Sewa, but also Hohota, Hirihi, Ureo, Mosou, Ajoro and Dobuduru.
[582] Two of his daughters married Inonda men, one married an Ajoro man.
When the Sewa people returned home, Moses stayed with his affines.
With regard to gardening land, he is essentially no better off than
the pastor at Sasembata. His Inonda affines lend him gardens from
year to year. He also plants gardens at Hohota, owned by affines and
a deacon. (See Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 33-35.) After he retired
from teaching in 1959, his status soon dwindled. Crocombe (1966)
has published an account of an initiation feast he held for his daughter's
son. In keeping with his former role, this was given a highly acculturated
flavour. It was on a larger scale than most of such feasts; Crocombe
thought this was "to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake
in the village of his residence." (Ibid.: 78)

This was the man who brought Christianity to Inonda and the
surrounding villages and who thus, in the context of culture change,
must certainly be ranked a one-time "key personality." Yet his present
status is demonstrably marginal. It is better than the Sasembata
pastor's because he has affines to call upon, but the obligations of
affines are strictly circumscribed: marriage gifts, help, if necessary
sustenance. All these have been well provided; the affines have been
good, even generous. Nor need the pastor fear for his descendants:
they will be helped, in the usual Orokaiva way, by their paternal
[423] relatives if they stay in Inonda or Hohota. But gifts of land are
[431] not regarded as an appropriate reward for missionary services rendered
by individuals.

Section 3: Residents of the Community

177 Among the key personalities in Sivepe over the period under
consideration there were resisters as well as promoters of change.
Among the resisters was undoubtedly Isemba, leader of the Seho clan,
who died (unbaptised) in 1963. While this man was alive none of his
clan joined the church; he did, however, agree with school education.
[777] I was not able to learn much about him except that he was most knowl-
[754] edgeable about the holding of feasts and their magic and that he feared

124 was much less marked when I took him with me to Inonda. He was a
123 bachelor who had a penchant for courting girls he was, for some reason,
157 unable to marry. While we were in Sivepe, his girl friend, though
[532] belonging to the Seho clan was rather too closely related to him on
her mother's side. Her father was Lawrence's elder brother and the
Seho clan generally was strongly opposed to the union; they therefore
treated the affair as incestuous. The mission had wanted to send
Leon for training in hospital work. He had been doing some of this
at Sasembata, and it would have suited him. His father opposed the
idea, considering that his knowledge of English, etc. would be too
useful to lose. When I came, his calculation proved right, for Leon's
presence and employment drew me, for some months, into a position of
much dependence on that family. Leon was the only young man who did
not join in the drum dances, and who never sat with the other men.
Perhaps, his bachelor status partly explains this, but another bachelor
of the same age did not keep away to nearly the same extent.

177 One difference between Inonda and Sivepe was that in the former
184 place there was only one family through which adaptive ideas and
decisions were transmitted to the community, and in practice only one
man, whereas in Sivepe, there was a variety of influences: the Seho
leader, the two older, and in many ways totally different older Jegase
leaders, and several younger people each with their own fund of experience
which helped them to interpret a changing social situation. This
difference results not only from a different organisational pattern
(based respectively on the "big man" and the equality ideology) but
also from the mere difference of size. It may be argued that some at
least of the multitude of avenues through which the modern world was
made accessible to Sivepe was due to post-eruption measures in the
resettlement villages. Of the leaders discussed here, however, not a
single one (except the two young interpreters who were scarcely leaders)
[797] was educated in the post-eruption period. They may have been influenced
by their close association with the mission; if so, it is hard to say
to what extent this association explains their present attitudes. One
may safely say that the association with the mission at the present
time reinforces the change-directed ideology of Sivepe leadership.

Section 3: Social Environment

619 In discussing the Waseta "tribe" I suggested that its boundaries
[197] would be hard to establish and that it gave little evidence of any
sense of unity. The case of Sangara is somewhat different; first of
all, Sangara speaks a dialect of its own that is easily distinguishable
from that of other areas. Secondly, a Sangara man is able, if he is
knowledgeable enough, to list some 27 villages which formed a loose
military alliance, and between which raids and organised war did not
[582] occur. These 27 villages formed at the same time an area within which
intermarriage would regularly occur. The present population of Hohorita
and the adjunct villages is drawn entirely from this alliance. (The
number 27 is probably an underestimate.)

621 Since the government made Sangara the centre of the Northern
[657] District immediately after the war, patrols were active in the Sangara
district to amalgamate villages. A number of the people now living in
Hohorita report that they came from such consolidated villages, such
as Tunana, which absorbed three neighbouring villages just before the
eruption. Informants say that the clusters of villages joined together
in this way had always been closely related. The population of Hohorita
is more diverse. I was at first told that it was composed of households
of four clans (Horeopa, Oripa, Besupa and Sehopa), the first two clans
being in the front village and the last two in the back village. A
house-to-house census revealed representatives of a further eight
clans, sometimes survivors of clans that had otherwise died out,
sometimes a clan more fully represented in Kakita or Sombou while two
clan names came from the Sasembata district, under circumstances to be
discussed later. Furthermore, when a number of families came from the
same clan, they were not always from the same village. While Sombou
was inhabited by the remnants of one cluster of four villages, and
Kakita by the remnants of one village, Hohorita offered a more general
hospitality to all Sangara.

621 Because of their history, the four Sangara villages built since
[657] the eruption form a rather tight cluster, quite different from the
intersecting circle pattern I described for the Sasembata district.
When a person in Sombou died, the whole of Hohorita rushes to join the
wake. All four villages in the cluster do this for each other, but
[731] not for any other village. Because of the sharp drop in population,
and the way the survivors were thrown together after the disaster,
people who were previously bound together only by a very loose alliance
now behave in the same way as a small neighbourhood cluster of closely
related villages.

Meanwhile, the Sangara people are rapidly developing friendships
and affinal links outside the tribe. In 1966, the front half of
Hohorita gave a feast for Koipa (a large Isivita resettlement village),
the back half gave a feast for Asigi, Irihambo gave a feast for Hohorita
while Sombou, with the assistance of Kakita, entertained the Uhuru'undi

731 Immediately after the eruption, the Sangara people decided to
[583] waive all bridewealth, so that a large percentage of the women in
[464] Hohorita were married without one. At the present time, bridewealth
[595] is reinstated, and young men go to neighbouring plantations, which are
plentiful--or else further abroad--to earn them. While many husbands
worked outside Hohorita, most of them were able to return home at
weekends. Polygamy was pronounced before the eruption, but it seems
that the polygamists became victims of the eruption and polygamy no
longer exists as a recognised institution.

871 If the average educational standard at Hohorita is slightly
above that of Sivepe, the reasons are: better facilities during the
years 1945-1951, loss of many members of the older age groups in the
eruption, special efforts made by Bishop Hand at Irihambo to draw
Sangara into mission teaching. This higher standard is reflected in
the statistics of persons who at one time or another have been in
skilled occupations. (Table 21).^A The persons who returned to Hohorita
434 did so with the express idea of making some money out of coffee; the
average income from coffee in Hohorita is certainly far in excess of
that in Sivepe (about \$100 per annum).

871 Hohorita does feel that it is held back by the present educational
provisions which are little better than those in Inonda and much
inferior to those at Sasembata. (At Hohorita, there is no schooling
beyond Standard 3, whereas Sasembata goes up to Standard 6.) Hohorita
people compare the school unfavourably with the government school at
the Sangara resettlement block which offers Standard 6, and which,
furthermore, has more highly qualified teachers on the staff. My
own impression was that the head teacher at Hohorita is a very good
man; some of the criticism of him is no doubt due to spite, for he is
of local origin. Still, the general criticism of facilities at
Hohorita is not unjust.

621 Hohorita is less homogeneous in ethnic origin than the other
563 villages discussed, as the population is drawn from different parts
of the Sangara tribe and intermarriage with other tribes has been
frequent. The explanation may be found in the pressure, after the
582 disaster, to find mates when most preferred potential marriage partners
had died in the eruption. This breaking down of the endogamous emphasis
after wars and disasters is, as I pointed out earlier, traditional
among the Orokaiva.

423 Heterogeneity was countered to some extent by an arrangement
which was, according to informants, made by a popular meeting shortly
591 after the eruption. According to this arrangement women who married
outside Sangara, would be allowed the same land rights as though
582 they had been sons. This was done in an effort, so I was told, to add
to the depleted Sangara population. Men would thus be encouraged to
settle on Sangara land rather than take their Sangara wives home with
them. Two men from the Sasembata district are now living in Hohorita
under this arrangement. They keep up normal exchange relations with
their home district, e.g., I know one of them lent hambo for the kere
A [See Cat. 116, p. 228--Analyst]

423 dance in Sasembata. But they enjoy very much better conditions than
591 are usual for men who marry uxori-locally.

582 The mortality among the elderly at the time of the eruption was
731 so great that many traditional customs and myths were lost among the
165 Sangara with the elders who knew them. For instance, rituals carried
177 on at birth in Sivepe are no longer practised in Hohorita. For the
184 rest, I did not see many differences between the villages in level
of acculturation. Housing conditions in Sivepe were better; money
was more plentiful at Hohorita. Dances were far more carefully
practised and more expertly performed at Sivepe. Clearly, the Hohorita
people spent more time at their coffee; this was given as the reason
for neglect in other matters. It may well be that cash-cropping above
the level noted at Sivepe has necessary consequences of this sort
unless technological changes occur. Ideologically, Hohorita is--as
I demonstrated--more deeply involved with the concepts of the New
Day than Sivepe.

621 Though no groups have left Hohorita since it was founded, the
614 co-residence of these many clans does make for a certain instability.
The leaders of the Oripa clan group told me that just after the
eruption very few Oripa were left, but as the clan was becoming more
numerous, it was beginning to think to establishing its own village.
Besupa was harbouring similar thoughts. Both these clans were minority
clans in their part of the village and this inevitably implied some
subordination. In Sivepe, the fusion of Jegase and Timumu had established
a fairly equal balance with Seho; as both clan groups were about equal
in strength if the greater resources of Seho are taken into account.
In Hohorita, however, the supremacy of Horeopa (and Sehopa in the back
section of the village) could hardly be challenged. The councillor
and the government are opposed to such fission and overlapping organ-
isations such as the credit union, the women's club, the church, the
school, etc. may gradually set up a firm esprit de corps. The importance
of tree-crops (as opposed to shifting cultivation) in the Hohorita
economy might be a further disincentive to the migration of groups to
another village, but Oripa has in mind a new village site which would
actually be closer to their coffee gardens.

Section 6: Conclusion

177 In this study, we have found three complex forces, acting as
causes of changes, to be intertwined: forces acting throughout Papua
and New Guinea to promote socio-economic development, the effect of
the relocation of certain communities near Mount Lamington after the
eruption, and the physical and cognitive effects of the eruption itself.
The last-mentioned of these forces was far more disastrous for Sangara
731 than for the rest of the Northern District of Papua. In tracing the
causes of culture change in Hohorita, we have to give especial emphasis

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- 171 Rich data on the symbolism defining the *philia* relationship in religious-philosophic terms are available in Strathern (1971). I have already expounded elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1972) that the theme of *philia* (its establishment, disruption, and restoration) is a central issue in New Guinean thought and that it enters into many levels of culture: geographical, zoological, social, magical, religious, and aesthetic.

THE OROKAIVA CASE

- 121 Up to this point, I have given some empirical illustrations of simple analytical distinctions. Thus, we can no longer take for granted that the *philia* universe always consists of friends and kin for it may define all friends as kin (as in the Maori) or vice versa (as in the Telefolmin). On the other hand, there are societies where the distinction friend/kin is of subordinate importance because the *philia* universe is classified by different criteria such as cooperative/competitive (Tangu) or real/feeble (South Fore). Then again, there are societies where consanguinity is a distinctive criterion within the *philia* system, but only in combination with other factors (Melpa).

572 If the Orokaiva case, of which a description now follows, seems more complex than the preceding ones, this may be attributed, at least to some

- 171 extent, to my method of presentation. While most Oceanic sources are too brief on the subject of friendship to enable us to go beyond summary statements,⁵ the Orokaiva facts resemble those reported by BurrIDGE (1957a; 1969) in many respects. But in some respects, the Orokaiva system seems more explicit. It differs from Tangu in having a slightly stronger patrilineal emphasis, less emphasis on collateral relations, and a stronger avoidance of affines. The Orokaiva marriage system, reported elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a), seems more highly structured. These factors are probably related [182] to higher population density, larger social networks, higher soil fertility, and more pervasive warfare.

- 131 The Orokaiva (population 25,000) live on the fertile volcanic loam of
161 the Mount Lamington foothills. Their main crop of taro once supported
villages of six to twelve families, although now, the villages are often larger
mainly because of pressure from the Australian administration. Williams
621 (1928, 1930)⁶ characterized the society as patrilineal with a strong bi-
602 lateral emphasis. Women hold a relatively high position which is maintained

562 ⁵ Early accounts of New Guinea friendship relations are in Mead (1938) and Williams (1940). Later accounts of a *namet* type of relationship are in POUWER (1955) and HOGGIN (1964) and of the *otavo* type in Heider (1970), Oliver (1955), Schoorl (n.d.). The "resemblance friends" found by Williams among the Elema are not unlike the fictive *simbo* of the Orokaiva.

⁶ Other useful sources on Orokaiva social organization are Crocombe and Hoggin (1963), Rimoldi (1966), Krinks and Waddell (1968), Schwimmer (1967, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972).

562 through the close brother-sister links that endure after marriage and that are expressed through strong links between sister's son and mother's brother.

614 Genealogies are brief, but the Orokaiva classify themselves into supposedly agnatic units by grouping together persons who respect the same plant

• (582) emblem which is treated as an ancestor. Clans are dispersed, and although local clan groups continue relations after dispersal, they soon begin to intermarry.

602 In the Orokaiva *philia* system, the distinction consanguine/non-consanguine occurs, but only feebly. Far more important are three cross-cutting categories which may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) the cooperative alliance, centred on sibling and parental bonds; 2) the competitive group exchange system; centred on relations with affines and uterines; 3) the total interdependence relations existing between spouses and cross-cousins.

Previously (Schwimmer, 1970a; 1970b; 1972), I have shown that the Orokaiva kinship universe may be viewed as made up of these three main components. In particular, the symbolization of the conjugal bond does not coincide with either the cooperative or the competitive mode, but is expressed in the symbiosis of plants (such as coconut and areca) which exhibit both binary opposition and total interdependence relationships. The cross-cousin bond has the same components and, at least in ideology, a comparable strength.

121 In this essay, I shall present data on the friendship universe and show that
572 Orokaiva have institutionalized friendships of several types, some of which
602 are hereditary. I hope to show that each type of friendship corresponds to one of the basic categories of the kin universe. Thus, if my argument is correct, the same categories would hold for the entire *philia* universe of which kinship and friendship would become homomorphous components. Friendship would not have one specific idiom, but a set of idioms which have already been stated in *philia* ideology and symbolized in the religio-philosophic system. Friendship thus becomes a dynamic dimension of kinship. Superficially, it looks like a minor supplement of the kinship system, but it is essential in filling ever-widening lacunae in the kinship system and preventing progressive entropy.

Orokaiva Kin and Friendship Idioms

101 Between the districts where the data were collected, there are slight differences in dialect (Hohorita in the Sangara district and Sivepe in the Sasembata district), including the way kin and friendship terms are used. The Sangara and Sasembata people are tribe-like groups, hereditary enemies, with seemingly similar social organizations.

601 Provisionally, it is best to regard the Sangara and Sasembata nomenclatures as variants of the same system. I shall not deal here with intergenerational terminology since it is mainly used in a familial context, whereas

431 But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two
 572 people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control
 574 over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places
 where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information
 where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately,
 neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific
 information on the channels which these relationships open up, although
 Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communi-
 cation." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown
 of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of any-
 thing that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropo-
 logists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the
 field.

572 (b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most
 important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women.
 A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hovatu* (brother-in-
 [591] law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of
 virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated
 [582] to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various
 families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with
 each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common
 between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei*
 or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second
 generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed pre-
 viously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each
 other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit
 [431] each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more
 modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce
 was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It
 seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic
 round.

123 Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this
 572 relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their
 own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only
 significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution,
 that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next genera-
 tion. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and
 the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

628 If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages
 572 B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A
 and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also
 between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons.
 Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.

572 Relationships of this sort are sometimes intertribal as women abducted by enemies were in the habit of maintaining contact with each other, and such contact was inherited by their sons and daughters. When men belong to an *otavo* relationship (see p. 67 below), their wives address each other as *jao*.

602 (c) *Simbo*. Outside the cooperative group, social relations (even with consanguines) are spoken of as voluntary. This applies especially to distant consanguines and non-resident consanguines. Thus, the kin category *simbo* must contain many members, if purely genealogical criteria are to be used. If two consanguines share no plant emblem and are related through siblings of the opposite sex, they fall within the *simbo* category (the term is not precisely equivalent to cross-cousins). There is no limit on kinship distance, and persons recognized as *simbo* may be cousins several times removed. Often, it is impossible to reconstruct the genealogical connection. Like Orokaiva kin links, this one is simply inherited from generation to generation (bilaterally, in this case).

As one cannot get informants to list more than ten or twelve *simbo* families dispersed in a number of villages, one must assume that *simbo* links, like those of hereditary friendship, are often forgotten. On the other hand, one may always rediscover a *simbo* while on a journey, so that there is a reservoir of unused links that can be revived. In general, however, a relationship can be relied upon only if it is kept alive by periodic contact.

[582] The best translation of *simbo* would probably be: potential preferential marriage partner. While the primary meaning refers to a cross-sexual relationship, the male *simbo* have a special kind of bond which fits neither the cooperative nor the competitive exchange category. Literally, *simbo* is a [584] marriage arrangement made when a girl has gone through the ceremony of menstrual seclusion and *kogumbari*,⁸ but is not yet marriageable. Two aspects of the relationship between male *simbo* which are always stressed are the great love *simbo* have towards one another, and the rigorous taboo observances that are customary and strictly enforced.

The taboos resemble those practised between *dambo* (brothers-in-law); this is reasonable because if a man marries his female *simbo*, her brother becomes that man's *dambo*. The same taboos exist against mentioning the *simbo*'s name. All quarreling in the presence of a *simbo* is strictly forbidden. If a quarrel occurs nonetheless and *simbo* orders one to stop, one must obey or else pay a pig as compensation. If *simbo* touches any of one's possessions, one must give that object to *simbo*. A request made by *simbo* cannot be refused. This last rule about possessions and requests does not apply to *dambo*.

[881] ⁸ The term means decoration and is applied to face-painting, dressing the head with feathers, the wearing of shell and bone ornaments, armlets, fur arm pendants, and the like. A boy or girl is first decorated on the occasion of initiation. The dressing up is then usually done by an expert in the clan and paid for by the parents. For details see Williams, 1930; Schwimmer, 1970b, 1970c.

phasis on the "logic of the concrete," is equally insistent on precision in matters of material culture, because in the analysis of symbols it often happens that important distinctions are made between species, varieties, subvarieties, methods of food preparation, of the manufacture of objects, and the like. 121

Quite apart from this concern with meticulous classification, componential analysis, and lexical-semantic relations, it seems to me profitable to turn to the semiotics of material objects, especially if the field of connotation and denotation crosscuts numerous levels of conceptualization. There are some objects in every culture which may almost be regarded as "total phenomena" in the Maussian sense: they are at once of economic value, expressive of social relations, ploys in a political strategy, and religious symbols. They also appear as the subjects of myths. As a general rule, they are utilized as objects of exchange, which explains why they are as multivalent as exchange itself.

At least part of their significance in anthropology lies in their capability to link the levels of myth and ritual. The best way of explaining what I mean by this suggestion is to give some instances of semiotic analyses of objects which may be called "total phenomena," and include in these analyses the levels of both myth and ritual. Their role as "logical operators" linking these levels will then become obvious. Though my argument draws on a wide range of structuralist literature, the most important sources are Lévi-Strauss' introduction to Mauss' *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Lévi-Strauss 1950) and the *Finale of L'Homme Nu* (1971).

The ethnographic data are from the Orokaiva, a tribe in the northern district of Papua, where I did fieldwork for one year in 1966-1967 and for another three months in 1970.¹ The Orokaiva live on the fertile slopes of Mount Lamington. They are swidden agriculturists, whose main crop is taro, while yam, sweet potato, sago, sugar cane, coconut, and numerous other nuts, as well as latterly German taro are subsidiary crops. Areca grows in most of the district. The population of 25,000 is very dense on the actual slopes of the volcano, sparser in the riverine areas. The kinship system is patrilineal, with a strong bilateral emphasis. I have given a detailed description of the various forms of

Orokaiva marriage (Schwimmer, 1970) and have shown that sister-exchange marriage, though infrequent, is regarded as the ideal form. Elopement and abduction marriages, once the most frequent, are now frowned upon, though elopement is still prevalent. The patrilateral preference rule (marrying out a girl in her mother's village) is still regularly stated by informants. In my records, which go back to the third generation, I found that 35% of the resident married women had been married out by that rule for the whole three generations, i.e., they had been exchanged for their mothers and their mothers for their grandmothers. 582 • [114] [583]

In the study ² that follows, I shall first present data concerning the coconut and areca, then about the taro. I shall follow this presentation with a brief discussion about the relation between the levels of myth and ritual. 128

1. COCONUT AND ARECA

A salient characteristic of the ethnobotany of the Orokaiva is the classification of plants as masculine and feminine. Certain important cultivars are grouped together as opposite-sex couples and grown in close association with one another. Claims are made that such plants will not prosper unless they are planted close together and that, in their wild state, they are also found together. 824 [241]

The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, and similarities in culinary use, taste, and supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pairs of plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

Coconut and areca are planted together in villages as well as gardens. Both nuts are eaten raw between meals; both grow on palms; both are offered to visitors—the coconut as refreshment immediately upon arrival and the areca (along with *hingi* pepper and lime) for chewing during the conversation. At mortuary feasts coconut and areca are the principal gifts, offered in large quantities to guests from villages who helped to bury 262 [245] [574] [764]

began to understand that my sister had killed the men I had carried to their graves and buried. . . .

When a man has collected areca, he gives it back to a girl. When that girl has helped to fetch coconut, she in turn gives it to the man. It therefore belongs to the man. This being so, the coconut is a man but the areca a girl: for this reason, girls give areca.

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On the level of social structure, this myth is concerned with the Orokaiva institution of sister-exchange marriage. Though such arrangements were not very frequent among the Orokaiva (I would estimate about 5% of all marriages), sister-exchange marriages are strongly idealized as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970). In this myth a man arranges such an exchange marriage for his sister because he evidently believes it provides more protection against magical dangers than any other. When this ends in disaster, the brother feels entitled to assume there is no bachelor with whom his sister can safely sleep, as he explains in a passage not quoted here. He therefore kills her, but right through the story his *dambo* (wife's brother) continues to be regarded as husband of his sister. It is for him, rather than for any other man she has slept with and killed, that she grows coconuts. In fact it is the bond of love between the dead couple which gives the whole tale its meaning. The closeness of this bond is not explained psychologically by personal sentiments existing between the lovers, but structurally, by sister-exchange marriage.

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On the level of social exchange the myth depends largely on rather complex and condensed ideological statements made by the hero. I have translated the crucial passages verbatim. In the full text, the brother comes back four or five times to the miracle that chiefly concerns him: the symbiosis of coconut and areca, dropping their fruits side by side and thus (as he implies rather than states) fertilizing one another. Taking this symbiosis as a fact of nature, the hero uses it to explain several other mysterious facts: (a) why all the bachelors died; (b) the ritual uses of coconut and areca; (c) why the Orokaiva consider the coconut masculine, areca feminine. To answer the first question, he refers to an easily verified fact: the *peperuma* of the coconut

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